

Message Text

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PAGE 01 LUSAKA 01324 01 OF 02 151404Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----035716 151407Z /50

O 151255Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8176
USDEL SECRETARY IN DAR ES SALAAM NIACT IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 1324

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: ZA, PPDC
SUBJECT: LETTER FROM PRESIDENT KAUNDA TO PRESIDENT CARTER

1. THERE FOLLOWS THE TEXT OF A LETTER DATED APRIL 15 FROM PRESIDENT KAUNDA TO PRESIDENT CARTER IN REPLY TO PRESIDENT CARTER'S LETTER OF APRIL 12. THE LETTER OFFERS NO NEW INSIGHTS. HE PORTRAYS THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AS FLEXIBLE ON THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS AND THE SALISBURY GROUP AS NOT. PRESIDENT KAUNDA REPEATS HIS WELL KNOWN POSITIONS THAT THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN HOLD THE KEY TO THE FUTURE OF RHODESIA. HE SUGGESTS THAT ONE WAY OF ISOLATING THE SALISBURY REGIME IF THEY REMAIN INTRANSIGENT ON AN ALL PARTIES MEETING WOULD BE TO TIGHTEN SANCTIONS WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON THE OIL EMBARGO.

2. BEGIN TEXT: DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I AM GRATEFUL FOR YOUR LETTER OF MARCH 17, 1978, ON THE FUTURE OF ZIMBABWE. WE IN ZAMBIA VERY MUCH WELCOME YOUR CONTINUED COMMITMENT TO ENDING RACISM AND TO THE RESTORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. WE WELCOME YOUR RE-AFFIRMATION ON AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO THE ESTABLISH-
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MENT OF MAJORITY RULE IN ZIMBABWE BASED ON THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS. YOUR SPEECHES AND STATEMENTS DURING YOUR RECENT VISIT TO WEST AFRICA BROUGHT MORE ENCOURAGEMENT AND HOPE THAT AMERICA, UNDER YOUR LEADERSHIP, WILL NOT RETREAT IN THE FACE OF THE GRAVE CRISIS UNFOLDING ON THE ROAD TO PEACE, FREEDOM AND JUSTICE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. I AM CONFIDENT THAT THE DECISIONS WE MADE AT THE DAR-ES SALAAM

SUMMIT AND THE ACTION TAKEN FOLLOWING YOUR VISIT TO LAGOS ARE VERY WISE MOVES AND IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.

I WELCOME THE MEETING IN DAR-ES-SALAAM BETWEEN SECRETARY VANCE AND FOREIGN SECRETARY DR. OWEN WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. I SINCERELY BELIEVE THAT IT IS POSSIBLE TO HAVE A DAR-ES-SALAAM AGREEMENT WHICH AMERICA, BRITAIN, THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND FRONTLINE COUNTRIES CAN DEFEND BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. I KNOW THAT THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE CONSIDER THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT AS UNACCEPTABLE AND WOULD, THEREFORE, WELCOME A FRAMEWORK WHICH GIVES THEM REAL GUARANTEE THAT INDEPENDENCE WILL BE ACHIEVED AND WILL NOT BE TEMPERED WITH BY THE RACIST FORCES SEEKING TO SUBVERT INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE. HOWEVER, I CANNOT HIDE MY FEARS WHICH CONTINUE TO INCREASE DAY BY DAY.

YOU WILL, I AM SURE, HAVE ALREADY BEEN INFORMED THAT I HAVE BEEN ASKING THE QUESTION ABOUT THE POSITION OF THE PARTIES TO THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT ON THE PROPOSAL FOR AN ALL-PARTY CONFERENCE. I HAVE ASKED AS TO WHAT WILL HAPPEN IN THE EVENT OF THE SALISBURY GROUP REFUSING TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ALL-PARTY CONFERENCE. IT IS CLEAR THAT THEIR REFUSAL AND THEIR DECISION TO GO AHEAD WITH THE FORMATION OF THE ILLEGAL GOVERNMENT IS A RECIPE FOR CIVIL WAR WHICH WE ARE ALL SEEKING TO AVOID.

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CONSEQUENTLY, WHILE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IS FLEXIBLE ON SUCH MATTERS AS :-

- (A) THE POWERS OF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER;
- (B) THE COMPOSITION AND POWERS OF THE GOVERNING COUNCIL;
- (C) UNITED NATIONS MILITARY PEACE-KEEPING FORCE AND OTHER ISSUES, THE SALISBURY GROUP REMAIN INTRANSIGENT.

IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES, I PROPOSE THAT THE FIRST STEP SHOULD BE TO MAKE THE DAR-ES-SALAAM MEETING SUCCESSFUL SO THAT WE CAN HAVE A DAR-ES-SALAAM AGREEMENT BASED ON THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS. I THINK THIS IS POSSIBLE.

THE SECOND STEP IS TO ENSURE THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL, THE O.A.U. AND THE FRONTLINE STATES ARE TOGETHER WITH AMERICA, BRITAIN AND THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IN PRESSING FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DAR-ES-SALAAM DECISIONS.

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THIRD, WE SHOULD PRESS AHEAD FOR THE ALL-PARTY MEETING AS PROPOSED AND AS AGREED ALREADY BY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. IN ORDER TO SECURE THE AGREEMENT OF THE SALISBURY GROUP TO THE MEASURES PROPOSED, WE SHOULD BE UNITED IN SUPPORTING THE PROGRAMME TO ISOLATE THE ILLEGAL REGIME IF THEY REMAIN INTRANSIGENT. TO THIS END THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MUST TIGHTEN THE UNITED NATIONS SANCTIONS WITH EMPHASIS ON TOTAL OIL EMBARGO. TIGHTENING SANCTIONS WILL IMMEDIATELY DEMONSTRATE TO THE ILLEGAL REGIME THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CANNOT BE PARTY TO THE PREPARATION OF A CIVIL WAR WITH GRAVE RISKS OF EXTERNAL INTERVENTION.

TOUGH MEASURES NEED TO BE TAKEN AGAINST THE ILLEGAL REGIME IN SALISBURY. UNLESS SUCH MEASURES ARE USED, THE REGIME WILL CONTINUE TO HOPE THAT SOME COUNTRIES INCLUDING BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES WILL RECOGNISE THEM IN DUE COURSE. SO THEY WILL CONTINUE TO PLACE OBSTACLES IN THE WAY TO PEACE.

MY PRESENT FEAR, OF COURSE, IS THAT AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES ON ONE HAND AND THE PATRIOTIC FRONT ON THE OTHER WILL DELIBERATELY BE DRAGGED INTO THE SECOND HALF OF THIS YEAR WHEN WE MIGHT BE TOLD THAT IT IS
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TOO LATE TO DO ANYTHING ABOUT THE ILLEGAL REGIME SINCE DEC-

EMBER 31, 1978 WILL BE CLOSE, AND THAT THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD UNDER THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS WOULD OVERLAP THE DATE SET FOR MAJORITY RULE BY THE REGIME. I SINCERELY HOPE THAT WE DO NOT FALL INTO THIS TRAP. I KNOW FOR CERTAIN THAT SMITH'S INTENTIONS ARE TO SUBVERT ANY AGREEMENT THROUGH THE SO-CALLED GUARANTEES UNDER THE CONSTITUTION WORKED OUT BY BISHOP MUZOREWA AND REV. SITHOLE. IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR ANY BLACK LEADER TO REMAIN IN POWER FOR LONG BEFORE HE IS REMOVED EITHER BY THE PEOPLE OR BY SMITH'S MILITARY MEN WHOSE POSITIONS HAVE BEEN ENTRENCHED BY THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT.

MR. PRESIDENT, I HAVE APPEALED TO YOU MANY TIMES SINCE YOU CAME TO POWER FOR POSITIVE ACTION IN ZIMBABWE IN ORDER TO GUARANTEE THE END TO ARMED CONFLICT IN ZIMBABWE. MAY I REPEAT THIS PLEA. NO AMERICAN PRESIDENT IN HISTORY HAS BEEN CLOSER TO THE PROBLEMS OF AFRICA THAN YOU. NO AMERICAN PRESIDENT HAS TOUCHED THE HEARTS OF AFRICAN LEADERS IN MATTERS AFFECTING AFRO-AMERICAN PROBLEMS THAN YOU. HAVING COME SO FAR, I URGE YOU NOT TO STOP ON THE THRESHHOLD

OF SOLUTION, BUT TO GO BEYOND AND SAVE THE SITUATION. I KNOW YOU HAVE THE POWER TO DO IT. I KNOW SMITH CANNOT LAST A FEW DAYS IF WASHINGTON AND LONDON WILLED IT.

WE IN ZAMBIA HAVE LIVED WITH THE NASTY EXPERIENCE OF SMITH'S INTRIGUES. HE HAS ALWAYS OPERATED AND IS STILL OPERATING AT DIFFERENT LEVELS. HE HAS BEEN MOST ACTIVE ON THE PSYCHOLOGICAL PLANE IN WHICH HE HAS GIVEN THE IMPRESSION THAT HE HAS ACCEPTED THE AFRICAN DEMAND FOR UNIVERSAL SUFFERAGE. BUT WE ALSO KNOW THAT HE IS BUSY ADVISING THE WHITES IN SMALL CELLS THAT BASICALLY THERE IS NO CHANGE AND

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THAT HE WILL USE THE ARMY, THE JUDICIARY AND THE PUBLIC SERVICE WHOSE FUTURE IS GUARANTEED BY THE ILLEGAL CONSTITUTION TO ENTRENCH WHITE POWER. THIS HE HAS SAID AT A RECENT EXCLUSIVE MEETING FOR WHITES ONLY IN BULAWAYO. TO THE BLACK LEADERS IN SALISBURY, HE IS ASSURING THEM A SMOOTH HANDOVER TO BLACK MAJORITY. BUT FOR RECORD, LET ME ONCE AGAIN EMPHASISE THAT THERE WILL BE NO SMOOTH HANDOVER IN RHODESIA IN THE PRESENT CONDITIONS. NO BLACK PRESIDENT WILL WITHSTAND THE PRESSURE OF BLACKS FOR MORE LAND, FOR HIGHER POSITIONS IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE AND IN THE ARMY, POLICE AND AIR FORCE. THESE PRESSURES WILL LEAD TO A JUST DEMAND TO THE AMENDMENT OF THE ILLEGAL CONSTITUTION WHOSE AMENDMENT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR TEN YEARS. IF A BLACK PRESIDENT WILL TRY TO AMEND IT, SMITH SAYS HE IS PREPARING THE ARMY TO STOP IT. THIS INTELLIGENCE IS AUTHENTIC.

THESE ARE THE PROBLEMS WHICH WE MUST BE VERY CAREFUL ABOUT. CONSEQUENTLY, I SINCERELY FEEL THAT WE MUST MOVE AHEAD FROM DAR TO A MORE FIRM POSITION WHICH COMMITS THE SMITH GROUP TO HAVE AN AGREEMENT ACCEPTABLE TO ALL PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT. WE MUST HAVE AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTED AGREEMENT IN ZIMBABWE, AS WE ARE DOING IN NAMIBIA.

I DO HOPE THAT THINGS CAN WORK OUT IN A MANNER THAT WILL BRING PEACE TO ZIMBABWE AND GIVE YOU THE SATISFACTION THAT YOUR CONTRIBUTION WILL GO DOWN IN HISTORY AS THE INSTRUMENT WHICH FINALLY SUCCEEDED IN ENDING BLOODSHED AND OPENED A NEW CHAPTER FOR PEACE, FREEDOM, JUSTICE AND STABILITY FOR ZIMBABWE AND THE ENTIRE REGION.

I WANT TO ASSURE YOU OF MY COMMITMENT TO THE SOLUTION OF THIS PROBLEM. BUT I ALSO HAVE GENUINE FEARS.

THIS MESSAGE COMES TO YOU WITH MY WARMEST REGARDS AND BEST WISHES.
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WITH GOD'S BLESSINGS.

AS ALWAYS,

SIGNED KENNETH D. KAUNDA

CLINGERMAN

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